

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-14 ISO-00 EURE-00 ACDA-19 AEC-11

AECE-00 OIC-04 OMB-01 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 EB-11 DRC-01 /175 W

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P R 131738Z DEC 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9262

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 17976

VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL: GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

DEPT ALSO PASS U.S. INT CAIRO

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, EEC, US, GW

SUBJECT: NATO MINISTERIAL - INITIAL POSITIVE FRG
REACTION

BEGIN SUMMARY: FONOFF NATO DEPT HAS PROVIDED US WITH
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POSITIVE INITIAL REACTION TO NATO MINISTERIAL IN GENERAL

AND SECRETARY'S STATEMENT IN PARTICULAR. OUR SOURCES SAID FRG SHARES U.S. VIEW THAT ALLIANCE AND EC IDENTITY MUST REINFORCE RATHER THAN CONTRADICT EACH OTHER AND FAVORS PROPOSAL FOR FREQUENT MEETINGS OF POL DIRECTORS AT NATO. OFFICIAL WAS CRITICAL OF JOBERT STATEMENT ON ATOMIC AGREEMENT, NOTED AUGMENTED SKEPTICISM OF SOME SMALLER ALLIES CONCERNING DETENTE AND SAID FRG AND UK HAD MADE DEMARCHES IN OSLO ON GREEK ISSUE. IN SUMMING UP, FONOFF OFFICIAL QUOTED SIR ALEC AS HAVING SAID NATO MINISTERIAL "CAME OUT BETTER THAN IT WENT IN," BUT ACKNOWLEDGED THAT TIME OF TESTING AHEAD FOR ALLIANCE. END SUMMARY

1. FONOFF NATO DEPT ACTING CHIEF CONTACTED EMBOFF DEC 13 AND PASSED ON INITIAL POSITIVE FRG WORKING LEVEL REACTION TO NATO MINISTERIAL AND, PARTICULARLY, TO SECRETARY'S PRINCIPAL INTERVENTION. OFFICIAL SAID HE THOUGHT SECRETARY'S FRANK STATEMENT, FOCUSING SQUARELY ON CORE PROBLEM OF RELATING EMERGING EC IDENTITY TO ALLIANCE AND KEY U.S. PARTNER, SHOULD HAVE BADLY NEEDED THERAPEUTIC EFFECT. SOURCE SAID GERMANS THOUGHT TWO POINTS IN SECRETARY'S SPEECH WERE CRUCIAL: THE STRONG REAFFIRMATION OF U.S. SUPPORT FOR EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND THE NECESSITY THAT EUROPEAN UNITY AND ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP REINFORCE RATHER THAN CONTRADICT ONE ANOTHER. FRG FULLY SHARES U.S. CONCERN, WHICH FONOFF REP NOTED WAS ALREADY VOICED DURING MID-SIXTIES IN SECRETARY'S BOOK "THE TROUBLED PARTNERSHIP," THAT SOME EUROPEANS MIGHT ADVOCATE CREATION OF EUROPEAN IDENTITY ANTAGONISTIC TO AMERICANS. GERMAN VIEW, STRESSED BY SCHEEL AND AFFIRMED AT MINISTERIAL, IS THAT ALLIANCE REMAINS INDISPENSABLE BASIS OF ATLANTIC RELATIONS AND FOUNDATION FOR EAST-WEST NEGOTIATIONS.

2. WHILE GERMANS BELIEVE THERE MAY HAVE BEEN SOME U.S. MISUNDERSTANDINGS REGARDING CHARACTER AND PURPOSE OF EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENTS, FONOFF REP WISHED TO EMPHASIZE AGREEMENT ON NEED FOR MORE EFFECTIVE CONSULTATIONS IN ALLIANCE BETWEEN U.S. AND EUROPEANS. GERMANS ARE PARTICULARLY HOPEFUL REGARDING SECRETARY'S PROPOSAL FOR

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INCLUDING POL DIRECTORS OR OTHER SENIOR OFFICIALS DURING CONSULTATIONS AT NATO. OUR SOURCE SAID BRITISH POL DIRECTOR KILLICK HAD PROPOSED THIS IDEA DURING RECENT LONDON CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN SCHEEL AND DOUGLAS-HOME, ASSERTING THAT INTERCHANGES WITH USG DURING (RATHER THAN AFTER) EC-9 FORMULATION OF VIEWS COULD EASE MANY DIFFICULTIES WASHINGTON HAS WITH CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS. THE FRENCH APPARENTLY LEARNED OF

THIS PROPOSAL AND REACTED WITH IRRITATION GIVEN BI-LATERAL UK/FRG FORMAT. AS A RESULT, DOUGLAS-HOME INDICATED THAT KILICK HAD BEEN MISQUOTED AND WAS SOMEWHAT NEW IN HIS POSITION. OUR SOURCE SAID THAT SCHEEL AND VAN WELL FELT KILICK'S PROPOSAL HAD BEEN A CONSTRUCTIVE ONE AND THAT THE FRG WAS DELIGHTED AT THE SECRETARY'S SUGGESTION TO THE NAC. HE SAID BONN UNDERSTOOD THE DISTINCTION MADE BY THE U.S. AT THE NATO MINISTERIAL TO THE EFFECT THAT THE EC COULD MAKE ITS OWN DECISIONS BUT, LIKE ANY GOOD PARTNER, SHOULD BE PREPARED FOR EXCHANGES OF VIEW WITH U.S. DURING DECISION-MAKING PROCESS. THE KEY QUESTION REMAINS THE

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DEPT ALSO PASS USINT CAIRO

FRENCH REACTION. JOBERT'S REMARKS DURING EC-9 MEETING
WITH SECRETARY WERE POSITIVE BUT ALSO VERY GENERAL AND
A DEFINITIVE FRENCH POSITION REMAINS TO BE STATED.

3. ON MIDEAST, OFFICIAL SAID FONOFF WAS ENCOURAGED BY
AGREEMENT TO FOCUS ON EXIGENCIES OF THE FUTURE RATHER
THAN DISPUTES OF THE PAST. FONOFF REP NOTED COMMENTS
OF SCHEEL (U.S.NATO 6056 - PARA 9), AND EMPHASIZED FRG
POSITION THAT ALLIANCE WOULD BE SOLIDLY WITH U.S.
DURING CONFRONTATION WITH USSR AND THAT MIDEAST DEVELOP-
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MENTS FURTHER PROVE THE NEED FOR IMPROVEMENTS IN
ALLIED CONSULTATION MACHINERY.

4. EAST-WEST. WHILE MINISTERIAL SPEECHES GENERALLY
EMPHASIZED WEST-WEST AND ALLIANCE PROBLEMS, REMARKS ON
EAST-WEST RELATIONS SEEMED TO EMPHASIZE THE NEED FOR
CAUTION. FONOFF WAS PARTICULARLY STRUCK BY STATEMENTS
OF DUTCH AND DANISH FOREIGN MINISTERS, USUALLY MAJOR
PROponents OF DETENTE, WHO CONTINUED TO FAVOR CSCE AND
MBFR BUT ALSO SOUNDED NOTES OF SKEPTICISM.

5. AS TO CONTROVERSY RE JUNE 22 U.S./SOVIET AGREEMENT
ON PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR, FONOFF REP SAID THE
GERMANS FAILED TO UNDERSTAND WHY JOBERT RAISED THESE
QUESTIONS IN AGGRAVATED FORM IN VIEW OF THE CARE WHICH
THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY HAD TAKEN TO EXPLAIN
THIS AGREEMENT TO NATO PERM REPS IN SAN CLEMENTE.
WHILE BONN ASSUMES THE FRENCH OCCASIONALLY MAKE THEIR
ANTI-AMERICAN UTTERANCES IN ORDER TO CAMOUFLAGE
MOVEMENT IN FRENCH POLICY TOWARD DEFENSE COOPERATION,
THIS THEORY IN NO WISE HOLDS FOR A SECRET NATO
MINISTERIAL MEETING. IN SHORT, GERMANS BELIEVED JOBERT
STATEMENT "WAS NOT VERY CLEVER AND JUSTIFIED TOUGH
REACTION FROM THE SECRETARY."

6. FONOFF REP SAID FRG REGRETTED NORWEGIAN AND OTHER
STATEMENTS AT MINISTERIAL ON GREEK ISSUE. DESPITE
PRESSURE FROM SPD BUNDESTAG PARLIAMENTARY GROUP (BONN
17648), GERMAN AMBASSADOR DID MAKE DEMARCHE IN EFFORT
TO DISSUADE NORWEGIANS FROM STRONG STATEMENT; OUR
SOURCE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD BRITISH ALSO MADE SIMILAR
DEMARCHE.

7. IN CLOSING OUR SOURCE SAID THE FONOFF BELIEVED THE MINISTERIAL HAD SUCCEEDED IN DISSIPATING SOME OF THE GLOOMY ATMOSPHERE AND CLOUDS THAT HUNG OVER THE ALLIANCE. THE MEETING BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND THE EC-9 HAD BEEN PARTICULARLY CONSTRUCTIVE. EMBOFF NOTED USEFUL INTERCHANGES AT MINISTERIAL BUT EMPHASIZED THAT TIME OF TESTING AHEAD FOR ALLIANCE, THAT TOUGH PRACTICAL QUESTIONS MUST NOW BE TACKLED AND THAT FURTHER DRIFT
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IN ATLANTIC RELATIONS WOULD BE BOTH UNSATISFACTORY AND EROSION. FONOFF REP FULLY ENDORSED THIS POSITION, PARTICULARLY NOTING SHIFT IN EMPHASIS OF FRG FOREIGN POLICY FROM OSTPOLITIK TO EUROPEAN AND ATLANTIC RELATIONS. ON KEY PRACTICAL QUESTIONS, HOWEVER, OFFICIAL REMAINED UNCERTAIN WHETHER RESTRICTIVE ROLE OF FRANCE WOULD CONTINUE TO CHANGE AND HOW TO DEAL WITH DIFFICULT PROBLEM OF BURDEN SHARING. EMBOFF RECALLED CONCRETE STEPS PROPOSED BY SECRETARY AT MINISTERIAL (U.S.NATO 6052 - PARAS 48-52), EMPHASIZING THE NEED TO GET ON WITH ELABORATION OF SATISFACTORY DECLARATIONS, TO ACT AS PARTNERS RATHER THAN IN CONTRADICTION IN MAJOR ISSUES AND TO RESOLVE SUCH PROBLEMS AS BURDEN SHARING AND ENERGY CRISIS IN SPIRIT OF COMMONALITY. EMBOFF CONCLUDED BY URGING GERMANS TO DO THEIR BEST WITHIN THE COMMUNITY TO BRING THE FRENCH ALONG ON THESE MATTERS.
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